ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fālongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 443 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 177 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both